FELLOWSHIP

June 1945 — Vol. XI—No. 6

V-E Day Statement

National Executive Committee, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, May 8, 1945

THE JOY AND GRATITUDE which find expression throughout the land as the end of hostilities in Europe is proclaimed are evidence of the deep-seated desire for peace in the hearts of our people. The multitudes in all lands and on both sides of the battle-line who have been suffering the awful effects of total war share in this desire for peace.

So far as Europe is concerned, we must now as a people turn our thoughts and energies to the making of peace. We need therefore to cultivate the mentality and the spirit of peace-making. If war and the mentality of war-making continue under the guise of peace, "the peace" will be "lost" and war will presently break out again openly and in far more terrible form than we have known it. War divides men and nations. There can be peace only if they come together again. We have to live in "one world" with those who were our "enemies" in war; they have to live in "one world" with us. Peace means learning to work with them in healing the wounded, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, building homes for the homeless, putting men back to work at all sorts of useful tasks which will minister to their material needs and bring self-respect and the sense of security back into their hearts.

We shall be unable to give ourselves single-mindedly to this colossal task in Europe so long as we are at war in the Orient. Continuing the war against Japan means further sacrifice of thousands of American youth. We believe that this sacrifice would be needless and inexcusable. It is obvious that Japan cannot win a military victory and that the plans of the Japanese militarists cannot possibly be realized. The devastation and suffering already inflicted upon the peoples of China, Japan, and other Oriental lands are appalling. Modern war is so barbarous in character that every day its atrocities accumulate will add to the hardening of men's hearts. It will add likewise to the difficulties and the costs of restoration and rehabilitation to which the United States will have to make heavy contributions in order to make the future secure for ourselves as well as for the peoples of other lands. In the name of common sense and humanity we therefore urge the President to state publicly specific terms of settlement with Japan which will provide a worthy place for the Japanese and all other Oriental peoples in an orderly, democratic world society and on this basis to call for the immediate cessation of hostilities in the Orient.

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

WHAT IS THE SECRET OF GENIUS? And what does genius mean? The mystery of it baffles us.

I

Here is Mozart, for example—sheer genius! It is not merely that Mozart was a *wunderkind,* playing and composing music in his early years as though he were a mature musician. It is rather that, all through his comparatively brief career, he produced masterpieces incredible in number and variety. Some composers excel in one form, some in another — Beethoven in the symphony, Wagner in the opera, Chopin in the piano. But Mozart excelled in them all! Music flowed from him like water from a living spring. He wrote, as he conceived, with utter ease and with flawless technique, and with ever-growing depth and power.

Then there is Pascal—an intellectual genius. Chateaubriand writes of this great Frechman that "at the age of twelve [he] created mathematics by means of bars and circles; at sixteen wrote the most learned treatise on conic sections since the ancients; at nineteen reduced into a [calculating] machine a science which exists entirely in the mind; at twenty-three demonstrated the phenomena of atmospheric pressure; at an age when other men have hardly begun to see the light, had completed the circle of the human sciences and . . . turned his thoughts to religion; . . . a man, finally, who during the short intervals in his sufferings, solved one of the greatest problems of geometry as a pastime." Little wonder that Chateaubriand speaks of Blaise Pascal as an "awe-inspiring genius."

Artistic and intellectual genius is matched by spiritual genius. Jesus was such a genius in his time—a young man, dead at thirty-three, who moved the world! We feel his genius in his words—words throbbing with an intensity of truth and beauty unparalleled in history. St. Francis was a genius in his time. Gandhi is a genius in our time, and his spirit is a world-stirring force. "Soul Force" is the name he gives it. And in him we discover it to be a force mightier than armies.

II

In attempting to explain the phenomenon of genius, men indulge in extraordinary speculation. Thus, in religion, they resort to the supernatural. The great genius is some kind of miraculous prodigy—conceived and born of God, and endowed by God with attributes not shared by ordinary persons. It is curious that such explanations are seldom sought in the case of secular genius. Nobody suggests that Mozart with all his amazing genius was a child of God in any extraordinary way. We fit him right into the pattern of natural life, and, for all the marvel of his work, regard him as human and not divine. So also with Pascal—he takes our breath away! Yet we classify him readily with the great succession of creative thinkers from ancient to modern times. Which raises the question as to why we should think differently of spiritual geniuses—seek any explanation of the religionist which does not apply equally to the musician or the scientist!

The fact is that genius is a revelation of the potentialities which lie hidden all the while in the mind and soul of man. It is a display of what man can do when he is at his fullest and highest. This genius of feeling, thought, or vision is no bestowal by some magic or mystical process of unique endowments. Genius is the flowering of an inner seed of being, under some combination of circumstance, which, like the blossoming of the century-plant, occurs only once in a hundred, or even a thousand years. But it is all natural, and not supernatural—the tapping of what William James described as our "stored-up reserves of energy that are ordinarily not called upon." Perhaps these ""reserves" are far greater in some individuals than in others. Perhaps some personalities find unusual ways of reaching and using them. But the point is that it all lies within the framework of human nature. Genius is still the soul functioning.

III

All this is of profound concern in the matter of our ideals and how we are ever to realize them upon earth. The higher the ideals, the more impossible it seems for us to do anything with them. Always there stands in the way of our endeavors the intransigent factor of human nature. What can we do with human nature? How do we expect to accomplish anything with stupid, ignorant, selfish, unimaginative men? We can't change human nature —nor can we expand it, or lift it, or ennoble it. It remains forever what it is—itself the supreme obstacle in the way of its own advancement.

To which complaint the answer is to be found in this strange fact of *genius!* For it is in genius that we see what human nature may be, and thus in essence is.

The measure of men is not in what is lowest in them, but in what is highest. Their innate capacity is seen not on the dead level of ordinary existence, but in the soaring flight of ecstatic achievement. If Mozart is exceptional, it is in degree only and not in kind—his power is in us all. Pascal dazzles our understanding by the sheer brilliancy of his faculties—but his blazing light lies kindled in all our minds. Gandhi moves us to awe and reverence by the sublime exaltation of his spirit—but his genius is that of India and its multitudes, rather than distinctively of himself. Emerson knew the greatness of men's souls in their own natural estate, and dared proclaim it. "Saints and Prophets!" he cried. "Thank God for these good men, but say, 'I also am a man'."

What this means in relation to our ideals and their fulfilment must be evident. These ideals tend to discourage us by their apparent remoteness from all of our poor abilities. But are our abilities so poor? On the contrary, are they not the best that men have been, and the most that they have done? Is not genius the answer to our doubts, and the prophecy of our hopes?

So never despair of the practicality of ideals. Never compromise them—least of all surrender them. Work for nothing less than the best! Strive for nothing lower than the highest! And lo, the genius of man's own soul, "sleeping, but never dead," will win the victory.

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The Next Battle in Europe

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD*

IN THIS HOUR OF VICTORY we are confronted with the question whether the death agony of Europe can be stopped by the German surrender, whether there will be any survival of the democratic processes that have previously existed. This is the terrifying fact which must be brought out even in this moment of national rejoicing when the parents of our men at the front are on their knees giving thanks for this respite from their agony. For the situation in all its gravity must be kept before the American people lest we be unprepared to make additional sacrifices to supply the food, clothing, and absolutely essential materials that Europe can get only from us. We shall face these demands even if the continuing slaughter in the Pacific should be ended soon, as it ought to be. We shall be compelled to deal with problems such as we have never before encountered, problems that will strain to the limit our material resources, our ability to adjust ourselves to unexpected difficulties, and our statesmanship. I am not surprised to hear people say that two years from now we shall be looking back upon June, 1945, and wishing that we were as well off as then.

As Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote some weeks ago in *The New York Times,* those persons who have been laboring to make blueprints of what we are going to do in Germany after victory could much better have spent their time on something else. Today the question is not wholly what we are going to do with Germany and to Germany; more important is what the German situation will do to us. Anybody who knows Europe at all knows that Germany is the industrial heart of all Europe, and that all Europe will suffer until that heart is restored to its regular beating. Former Judge Samuel Rosenman, who has just reported to President Truman upon the trip to Europe upon which he was sent by President Roosevelt, says that our United States economy will be "deeply affected unless northwest Europe again resumes its place in the international exchange of goods and services. Furthermore, a chaotic and hungry Europe is not fertile ground in which stable, democratic, and friendly governments can be reared." That is the soundest of truths. It is the answer that must be given to those misguided Americans who, in this hour of triumph and in view of the horrible revelations in regard to the German torture and starvation camps, are now insisting that we tear Germany completely to pieces, break her up into small portions, and punish her in the spirit of the Old Testament.

Chaos in Germany

The first thing needed is that the government and the country recognize the enormity of the immediate problem in Germany. Almost every one of the German cities has been bombed, some completely wiped out, like Aachen, and others hopelessly damaged, like Berlin and Nuremburg. We must realize that the homes of millions have been destroyed and that there is no way in which the owners can be recompensed. No insurance companies can be solvent today, and if they were they could not meet these German urban losses. Probably most of the banks are wiped out. The owners of stocks and bonds must dig them out from under tons of rubble—if they still exist—and mortgages are, of course, not worth the paper upon which they are printed. A very large part of the industrial machinery is destroyed or in need of repair, and the Russians have been threatening to take for themselves all that they want of what is left. Yet it is in this direction that those of the perhaps 10 million survivors of the German armed forces ought to be able to look to obtain employment—all that are not going to be expatriated to forced labor in Russia or in France, or other countries which are now asking for 3 million men for reconstruction purposes. As for those who wish to go back to the farms, where will they find the necessary seeds, tools, and machinery?

On top of all this is the terrible problem of displaced persons. It seems to be a fact that many of the freed Russians do not wish to be returned to Russia. The rest of the 7 million slave laborers and military prisoners are already being forwarded to their homes as rapidly as possible. But how they are to be fed, organized, and transported at the present time must be the all-pressing problem upon our military supply officers, who are also confronted with the staggering task of moving out of Germany all our troops except the 15th Army which has been selected for garrison duty.

Next comes the fact that the Army finds itself gravely lacking in the qualified, trained personnel to govern that portion of Germany which will be held by us. For example, one major, one lieutenant, and one warrant officer are reported to be trying to administer an area of 200 square

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miles with a population of 200,000 living in 63 towns and villages in which there are also 4 displaced-persons-centers, each with 5,000 stranded people to be fed and taken care of. The 9th Army is reported as making an effort to train some 400 or 500 men at once by means of a training course of only two weeks!

The Threat of Starvation

Now let us look at the food situation. The British general who completed the capture of the Ruhr district has notified the Germans of that section that 2,000,000 of them will die of starvation within the next few months if they do not exert themselves to the uttermost to replant their ravaged fields and rebuild the markets and shops in the destroyed villages and cities. This leaves open the question of how they are to be maintained during the "next few months." It is officially announced that as a punishment all Germans will be reduced to a bare subsistence diet of 1500 calories a day in order that the rest of Europe, so robbed by the Germans, may live normally. We are now frantically rushing food into the recently freed and starving portion of Holland. But France is crying for food and so are Belgium, Italy, Norway, Poland, and the Balkans. Official representatives of England, Canada, and the United States have just jointly stated that "either the United Nations must find the answers to the food problem or millions of persons will meet disillusionment or disappointment following in the wake of victory. . ." That is exactly what has happened in France, Italy, Belgium and the first-freed areas of Holland, where the people are utterly unable to understand why they are not as well off as they were under German rule. Our government has just announced officially that within a year we shall have to send 12 million tons of food abroad to help the starving until they can get on their feet again. That is a gigantic task!

Four Governments

The difficulty of these problems will be intensified by the existence of four different governments controlling Germany, and for administering little Austria, which is to be restored as an independent republic whether the inhabitants wish it or not. It was an impossible republic before, since it had no hinterland and was a lone economic unit, without either the agricultural or the economic ability to carry itself. How all Central Europe can be made to function as a whole with Russians, Americans, British, and French guiding that geographic center along four different lines it is extremely difficult to see. Perhaps that is the reason why the acting chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee has prophesied that our garrison will not stay very long in what is left of the Reich. But that point of view is entirely contrary to the desires of those in and out of our government who insist that each one of the four ruling groups shall control the newspapers, the radio, the stage, and the movies, and that we shall supply the mental pabulum for the youth of Germany for decades to come. Every day we are told that the real problem is how to fumigate the German children, intellectually speaking, and to drive the Nazi ideas out of their heads. Never before in human history has an effort been made to change the intellectual processes of some 60 to 70 millions of people with the idea of making them think as we feel they should. This would be a task of enormous difficulties by itself. In view of the terrible economic situation, we shall be fortunate indeed if we create anything else than bitterness, hatred, and the desire for vindictive revenge, but we are determined to try it.

Non-fraternization

One thing is plain. If we essay anything of the kind we must certainly do away with the ruling that our armed and administrative representatives must under no circumstances associate with the people that they are to rule—any soldier found speaking to a German, man, woman, or child, except in the line of duty, is now liable to a fine of some $60. We are told that the whole spirit of our intervention will be to make the Germans understand that they are the worst criminals on earth, save only their partners in evil, the Japanese; that they are all moral lepers who did not have the courage or the decency to rise against their wicked overlords—this in the face of the hundreds of thousands of German victims of the concentration camps in which they were penned up precisely because they would not surrender to the Nazi doctrines any more than would the heroic Pastor Niemoeller, now freed at last. We are not to deal with these people as the victims of criminals, but as their partners. We are not to think of Christian forgiveness, but are to reduce them to the barest necessities of life and keep them continually aware that we consider them outcasts. Although their country is worse devastated than any other portion of Europe, excepting the Ukraine and other portions of Russia ruined by the Nazis, we shall insist that they need additional punishment.

Yet, if ever there was a case for the application of practical Christianity it exists in Germany today, if only in the interest of the other nations of Europe. Actually we must salvage every country on the Continent if the whole is to be restored to a peaceable manner of life. There lies the magnitude of the task that confronts us. Each and every ravaged land needs our ministering care and our determined effort to uplift them. So far we have not succeeded well in our efforts, not in Holland, nor in Italy where our government has been far from what it should have been. But at least we have not undertaken to tear Italy to pieces or to treat the people vindictively; and we have shown a complete readiness to forget that they were the originators of Fascism. Have we the ability and understanding necessary for what is ahead? Is there the determination in Washington to take hold of Europe, so far as Russia permits us to do so, with the same marvelous efficiency with which we have carried on the war, created the instruments of destruction, and, with our Allies, defeated the great German armies and destroyed their cities? When Henry J. Taylor, the Scripps-Howard correspondent, was in North Africa, a high French official said to him one afternoon in General de Gaulle's villa: "What are you Americans doing here anyway? You have brought us no plan, no program, no policy. And if you had you couldn't put them through. No one who has not had three generations of experience with the hates, the bitternesses, the intrigues, and the wars of Europe can handle this situation." Surely we could not face a more trying test of our statesmanship—if we have such.

So far we have blundered in dealing with almost every political situation. The Paris elections have shown a startling drift to the extreme left—to that communism which frightened and warped the whole process of the treaty-making at Versailles when the one idea was to keep the

dreadful bolsheviks from poisoning Europe by surrounding them with a *cordon sanitaire*. Shall we have the courage to grapple with this critical situation, if we develop the men to do it? It is impossible to say, but if we do not face it in the Christian spirit we shall deserve a most severe indictment, for no other nation but ours has the resources, the financial strength, and perhaps the good will to prevent all Europe from becoming an absolute chaos, with people tearing one another to pieces in their efforts to get food and to keep alive. Surely this unbelievable human problem cannot be solved by bitterness and the spirit of vengeance, but only the spirit of the Good Samaritan. On every one of my numerous visits to Germany since the last war I have been deeply impressed with the German respect, admiration, and gratitude for the work of the Quakers, both American and English, in Central Europe between the first and second world wars. I found it still surviving in Germany after this war began. Only by following the Christian example of those Quakers can we hope to rebuild the complete wreck that is Europe today.

Is America's luckless minority of Japanese-Americans, already twice uprooted by our government, now headed for

The Third Evacuation?

By CALEB FOOTE*

BUFFETED BY SUCCESSIVE WAVES OF PUBLIC PASSION, America's luckless minority of Japanese ancestry seem headed for another tragic dilemma as the months of 1945 tick past. Down one road lies a third wartime evacuation, for if the government means what it said in setting the end of the year as the deadline for closing all Relocation Centers, it will force these people out and lock the doors behind them. The only alternative is that a considerable group may live on in the centers, like Indians on a reservation.

Either road would be evil fruit from the evil tree of discrimination. Continuation of the government's present coercive measures would force another evacuation on people who were first moved from their homes to Assembly Centers and then on to exile in the desert, and it would serve only to cap the whole tragic business with incredible hardship, bitterness, and injustice. Yet long-continued existence of the relocation centers offers prospects little if any brighter, for the Indian reservation has been a dismal failure as a "solution" of a racial problem. Housing shortages, employment insecurity, public antagonism, the bleak prospects for continued congressional appropriations, and the psychological results of evacuation and internment, all create formidable barriers to any just solution. It has become apparent that many a bitter harvest sown in the evacuation of 1942 is yet to be reaped.

This tragic dilemma is being forged by three converging forces: attitudes inside the centers, California environment, and government policy.

Attitudes in the Centers

Slightly over 70,000 persons are still in relocation centers, and, excluding repatriates and those not cleared for relocation, this leaves about 60,000 whom the War Relocation Authority wishes to move out by December 31. Some 20,000 of these are children under 18, while a majority of the others are older *issei*, many with severe language handicaps. Thus many of the remainder are either too old or too young to earn a living, and the great majority have no property and little or no money.

While most of these 60,000 want to get out of the centers, there is some strong resistance to relocation. For three years these Japanese-Americans have been subjected to an institutional routine which has deprived them of the responsibilities of daily living and paid them for their labor at pauper's wages (maximum $19 a month). Such life has sapped individual initiative, fostered dependence on a government handout, and made them think only in terms of what they could get for themselves. They have seen government promise after government promise suddenly made and as suddenly broken, until many no longer trust anyone or anything. What they salvaged from the stupendous losses incurred in evacuation has been eaten away in meeting the necessities of the center life. The majority today stand penniless, homeless, broken in spirit, utterly dependent upon the government. Viewed in this light, "resistance to relocation," especially among the older people, is not hard to understand. All that many of them want now, feeling themselves too old or unwilling to "start all over again," is to be left alone, to live as decently as possible among their friends until they die.

California Environment

On top of these inevitable influences of internment camp life, a would-be relocator faces tremendous difficulties in outside living, which in turn are further magnified by relocation center "rumor factories." Following closely the reactions of several who have returned, I have seen the same pattern develop. Dave, for example, who used to run a clothing store in San Francisco, found a warm welcome. The wholesalers who had supplied his store greeted him, he had a steady stream of social engagements, and the manager of a near-by store remembered him with presents and offers of help. But when he tried to buy a house in a better neighborhood a bank stepped in to block the sale. When he wanted a job, the prospective employer told him that he had had Japanese friends whom he liked, that personally he would like to hire him, BUT . . . "Gosh," said Dave,

* Northern California FOR Secretary, Berkeley, Calif.

I sat there like I was listening to a phonograph record; I've heard that so often before." Yet Dave is an exception, for he has money, a home, and speaks English well. What of the many who have none of these?

Especially for those going to rural areas there is real fear of public antagonism. In Auburn three men who virtually admitted trying to fire and dynamite a *nisei*-owned packing shed were freed by a jury after their attorney's plea to "keep this a white man's country." Shots have been fired through homes in Merced, San Jose, Orose, and Lancaster. "Protective" or "anti-Jap" societies or leagues have been formed in Vacaville, Winter, Orosi, Auburn, Sacramento, Salinas, Oregon City, Gresham, and Forest Grove. There have been anonymous phone calls at 2:30 a.m., a tightening of alien land laws, escheat proceedings, and the molesting of graves by Fresno vandals. Returnees have been boycotted, they find banks "unco-operative" about loans, and they cannot obtain insurance on cars and machinery.

But the worst bottleneck in West Coast relocation is neither the center psychology nor the fear of violence, but rather the housing shortage. In the San Francisco bay area the Housing Authority estimates that there are 50,000 more families than dwelling units of any sort, while the San Francisco vacancy ratio, normally five per cent, is now one-tenth of that. Los Angeles predicts a shortage of 58,000 units by next year. The state of California has had inadequate rural housing for at least ten years.

Close behind this housing maze is the fact that fields of employment for *niseis* on the Pacific Coast appear severely limited in comparison with opportunities in the East. Job security around San Francisco is at a minimum, for over 250,000 are employed in war industries, reconversion prospects are slim, and layoffs in shipyards have started in earnest.

Thus the basic problem of getting a roof over one's head, food for one's stomach, a job for one's hands, and security for one's family is so uncertain that it is little wonder that many an evacuee prefers the dreary certainty of existence in the relocation center to the fears of the unknown that would accompany a return to California.

Government Policy

The War Relocation Authority is now in process of liquidation. Its appropriation has been cut, and it is said that one reason it is so anxious to close the centers is that there will be no money left for their operation after December 31. Yet even so brief an analysis as the foregoing indicates the tremendous obstacles to any speedy liquidation of the centers, and with the exception of WRA Director Dillon Myer and a few top officials, WRA men and evacuees alike say that it cannot be accomplished this year. At this writing, two months after Mr. Myer predicted the migration would enter its peak period, the relocation rate is only 700 persons a week, most of whom are still heading East. An additional factor is that those who have relocated so far have been the easiest cases to handle. Figures on 3,493 resettlers in Chicago show that 70 per cent are between the ages of 17 and 30. The remaining *issei* and dependent women and children in centers will move more slowly. Present plans for WRA liquidation are therefore premature. Nor does the government's responsibility end when these people are pushed out of centers into any sort of domestic or farm labor job and temporary housing.

Apparently WRA expects one-half to two-thirds of those in centers to return to the Pacific Coast, the rest going East. I cannot speak for the East, but it will be impossible to relocate 30,000 to 40,000 evacuees on the Pacific Coast this year. It will be surprising if even half that number successfully weather the housing shortages, antagonisms, and growing unemployment.

WRA's objective of trying to get the people out of the centers as rapidly as possible is commendable, for it is clear that relocation is easier now than it will be after the war, and that center life is deteriorating to individuals and especially bad for children. But the means now being used toward this end are open to serious question. Planned migrations of large groups of people fall into three general categories:

(1) Those accomplished by physical force, as was the original evacuation.

(2) Those in which a people are virtually forced to move, as a result of psychological pressures to which they are subjected. (The present environment is being made so unpleasant, or even impossible, that people will move into almost any alternative.)

(3) Those in which people are encouraged to move because the alternatives offered are more attractive. In these cases efforts are concentrated on obtaining inducements such as better housing, schooling, and employment opportunities.

While the WRA has not ignored inducements, it is unfortunate that emphasis has fallen on methods of psychological coercion. Its reasoning sounds logical: that if you set a definite closing date, deprive the people of schools, and make center life less pleasant, then the people will move. But such coercive measures, while they often achieve the immediate objective, are dangerous because they sacrifice the slow but educational democratic processes in favor of an effeciency obtainable only through dictatorial means. Mr. Myer objects to having his policies termed "forced relocation," yet how else can one characterize a program which ultimately denies schooling, recreation, and, after the first of the year, even food and shelter, to those who may want to stay?

A policy of forced migration is particularly unfortunate when now applied to Japanese-Americans, because it tries to short-cut the real problems facing these people, problems caused by the evacuation, problems which the government has a moral obligation to face. These problems are bogging relocation, and a coercive policy which dodges them will either backfire completely or do great damage.

The center resident is told: the schools are closing, your friends are leaving, and there will be no place for you here in 1946. Does that help, when his home, business, and money are gone; when he fears shots through his house or a boycott against his produce; when he knows he will be at the bottom of the employment shuffle; when he is wondering, "Where will I sleep, and how will I get a job?"

In many instances the present "deadline policy" is serving chiefly to bewilder, anger, or embitter. Center observers fear a sharp increase in the number of repatriates, for those who declare for returning to Japan will be secure at least for the duration. They fear increasing Japanese influence over those left in the centers, for in many centers the closing of schools will result in the establishment of Japanese-run education.

Not Too Late

It is not too late to change our course. We must recognize that it is going to take much more time and money than previously planned to "liquidate" the problem. As a first step, lifting the deadline is a psychological and physical necessity. The centers cannot be emptied this year, and if it were announced that at least one center would be kept open as long as needed, that would eliminate the chief coercive element and stop much of the current speculation. This would permit attention to be focused on a positive program of education and inducement. Such a program would fall into several parts.

First, increased financial aid is essential. At present outgoing evacuees who are "in need" receive $25.00 each—much too small a sum with which to start life over again. They are further required to pay the cost of moving their goods out of storage where distances involved are less than 25 miles. While additional aid is available, it comes from Federal money administered through county welfare. No one knows how long the Federal money will last; when it is gone these people will be at the mercy of county boards of supervisors who have shown themselves thoroughly prejudiced in the past.

Nor is it fair to make these grants a matter of "welfare." Japanese-Americans have a justifiable pride in not wishing to accept relief. They have lost heavily in evacuation (perhaps as much as $75,000,000); they have been unjustly detained, paid slave wages for their labor, and their rights as American citizens have been swept aside. They have a *right* to far more generous treatment, and any compensation for the wrongs done them should be neither subject to local political will nor made a matter of charity or welfare. Funds should be Federally administered on the basis of righting a wrong and paying for a war causualty. Congress should also be urged to set up a claims commission to hear individual cases and rectify losses directly attributable to the evacuation.

Second, it must be recognized that housing shortages will hold up West Coast relocation for a long time to come. The hostels springing up along the coast will clog up unless there is permanent housing available. Even those evacuees who own their own homes are faced with an eviction problem because their tenants (usually Negro) quite literally have no other place to which to move.

Part of the answer is persistent efforts to persuade the people to move East, but additional housing must also be secured for the West Coast. In San Francisco much of the difficulty lies with real estate interests which dominate much of the city government, and which fear that additional Federal housing will hurt rental values on slum properties. Only strong political pressure in West Coast communities, supported by national pressure on Congress and the National Housing Authority, can break this block.

Third, WRA needs to continue its already excellent work in employment and public relations. Pressure must be placed upon the War Department to co-operate with other agencies in correcting public prejudice, for the Army so far has been negligent in this. WRA is now trying to break employment discriminations, and the wider problem of employment lies beyond its control. Only if there are jobs for everybody will minority peoples be able to find permanent employment.

Fourth, it is going to take time to do the essential education and individual case work in the centers. Given the time and staff, it will be possible to work out agreeable terms of relocation with the great majority. Ultimately the centers can be emptied this way, for subsistance communities (see below) can be developed for those who would otherwise be unrelocatable.

Fifth, we need to investigate the possibilities of subsistence or co-operative communities, which would be especially desirable for the many thousand single older men, who are now or soon will be unable to work. The desire of these men for the security of living among their friends is understandable, as is their justified fear of being thrown on relief at the mercy of county politics.

Such a program will cost money, but so far only a fraction of the amount poured into evacuation has been spent on relocation. No one complained about the cost of the first and second evacuations and surely we should expect to spend as much in trying to correct some of the injustices and repair the damage, so far as is still possible.

Some will insist that a program such as the above is politically impossible and would subject WRA to charges of "coddling." There is some danger of this, but there is nothing to lose in trying. Dillon Myer's courage and optimism have weathered such earlier storms as the Tule Lake "riots," charges of "coddling" in the centers, and the smear "investigations." With his leadership, Ickes' support, and the backing of the FOR and other sympathetic groups, there would be a good chance of carrying such changed policies into action.

But the basic responsibility falls upon us—the liberal people of the country. We must urge Secretary Ickes and Dillon Myer to reconsider the deadline policy. We must build the political support to guarantee WRA's continued Congressional appropriations. We must challenge every discriminatory act, refute every lie, and gain a political solution that is moral and just. Our real opposition is a tiny minority whose noise and effort must be matched and broken by our tireless efforts for truth and justice. The stakes are great. Failure would result in untold additional hardship; but if we succeed we can redeem some of the bitterness, rectify some of the injustice, and restore happiness and meaning to thousands of troubled lives.

Against Victory

By Kenneth E. Boulding

Take no delight in victory—it is bought
At cost too great for joy, too small for pride.
It is no spring of gladness, but a tide
In which thou—and thine enemy—art caught.
For though Earth's turning mass at last has brought
Flood waters to thy harbor—foul and wide
Spread mud-flats on the oceans' further side,
And earth turns still, to bring thy pride to nought.

In Caesar's Kingdom, victory and defeat
Are minted of one die: not so, in God's;
His victories have no sting, set none at odds,
Sow no new seeds of war, make whole, make sweet.
The conqueror loses love, gains only power.
Lord, make us more than conquerors in this hour.

The time is ripe for action to secure

International Abolition of Conscription

Historical Notes by Harrop A. and Ruth S. Freeman*

THE CURRENT CLAMOR FOR PEACETIME MILITARY CONSCRIPTION in the United States leads those who are concerned for human welfare everywhere to ask why our statesmen cannot secure an international agreement to abolish conscription.

Efforts in that direction have been made at various times since the close of World War I. In January, 1918, Prime Minister Lloyd George spoke of "the increasing evil of compulsory military service" as a blot on our civilization "of which every thinking individual must be ashamed." During the electoral campaign of that year he expressed the hope that the League of Nations would establish a world order "under which conscription will not be necessary in any country."

About the same time General Smuts urged the abolition of conscription, and also the limitation of armaments and the nationalization of munitions production, saying:

> I would go so far as to say that while Great Powers are allowed to raise conscript armies without hindrance or limit, it would be vain to expect the lasting preservation of peace. If the instrument is ready for use the occasion will arrive and the men will arise to use it. I look upon conscription as the taproot of militarism; unless that is cut, all our labors will eventually be in vain.
>
> Of the three proposals for disarmament, the abolition of conscription is by far the most important, and it is also the one behind which there will be the greatest volume of public opinion. The feelings against war engendered by the casualties and miseries of this war will tell most strongly in favor of this fundamental reform; and if carried it will set free a mass of productive labor for the purposes of reconstruction, which otherwise would have gone to waste in camps and barracks. . . . I hope, therefore, that every effort will be made at the peace conference to have it adopted in the peace treaty. . . .

Lloyd George considered the Smuts' report "the first scheme which advocates the incorporation in either the Treaty or the Covenant of the League of definite provisions for the abolition of conscription and of conscript armies."

The diary of David H. Miller (U.S. technical consultant on law questions at the Paris Conference) carries the following entry, Nov. 29, 1918: "Military—limitation on: (a) Conscription or universal service (b) other training." Professor Manley O. Hudson (now Judge of the Permanent Court) wrote to W. C. Bullitt on December 18, calling attention to Lloyd George's position and continuing:

> On the eve of the election in England, Lloyd George made this statement: "I wish to make it clear beyond all doubt that I stand for the abolition of conscript armies in all lands. Without that, as I said at Bristol, the peace conference will be a failure and a sham. . . . "
>
> Can't President Wilson be induced to take Lloyd George at his word, and include in his insistence some limitation on conscription?

Proposals at Paris Conference

Wilson did undertake to secure agreement to the abolition of military conscription at the Paris Conference. The second Wilson Draft (first Paris draft, usually referred to—as it will be here—as the First Draft) read in part:

> As the basis for such a reduction of armaments all the Powers subscribing to the Treaty of Peace of which this Covenant constitutes a part hereby agree to abolish conscription and all other forms of compulsory military service, and also agree that their future forces of defense and of international action shall consist of militia or volunteers, whose numbers and methods of training shall be fixed, after expert inquiry by agreements with regard to the reduction of armaments referred to in the last preceding paragraph. [The words "on land, at sea and in the air" were inserted after the words "international action."]

Miller's Diary on January 13, 1919, recorded his and James Brown Scott's comment on the Smuts' proposal: "Under (15) to (17) conscription is abolished but there is no mention of naval armaments."

On January 19 Miller made a draft resolution providing for the abolition of conscription, as did also Lansing. Wilson's Second Paris Draft retained the same provision on conscription that appeared in the First. The Lord Eustace Percy draft and the Cecil-Miller proposal contained agreements "to abolish conscription and all other forms of compulsory military service . . . "

How lacking was a strong advocate for abolition of conscription and how off-handedly the proposal was abandoned even before presentation to the peace conference, can be seen from Miller's record of a conversation between President Wilson, Signor Orlando of Italy, Colonel House, and Signor Scialoja of Italy:

> Signor Orlando then hastily went over the remaining part of the covenant and said that his comments were very trifling, except on the subject of the abolition of conscription. He thought that this would work hardship upon the poorer powers. In other words, rich powers could afford to pay their standing army well. This would place the poorer powers at a disadvantage. He did not think the voluntary system would work in Italy. They were already having trouble with their paid *carabinieri* which demanded higher wages.

Miller records a conference the following day (January 31) at the Crillon between Wilson, Smuts, Cecil, and House:

> It was agreed that the provision for the abolition of conscription would have to be modified in accordance with the Italian view that they could not abolish conscription.

Accordingly the Hurst-Miller draft of February 1 changed the plan from a present agreement to abolish conscription to one for an inquiry and recommendations:

> It (Executive Council) shall also inquire into the feasibility of abolishing compulsory military service and the substitution therefor of forces enrolled upon a voluntary basis and into the military and naval equipment which it is reasonable to maintain.

Even this was not accepted. The slight amount of discussion on this important proposal and the ease with which its proponents gave it up can be seen from the following, *which is the only recorded discussion* in the Minutes of the Commission of the League of Nations concerning universal abolition of conscription:

> Mr. Bourgeois pointed out the inability of France to agree to the abolition of compulsory military service, which appeared to France to be a fundamental issue of democracy, and was a corollary of universal suffrage.

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* Authors of *Conscription After the War?* the latest Forerunners Study-book. Harrop Freeman is Professor of International and Constitutional Law at the College of William and Mary, Williamsbug, Virginia. In this article attention has been centered on Great Britain, the United States, and Russia because of their present world position.

After remarks by Mr. Orlando and Mr. Larnaude, President Wilson proposed to delete the last clause of the first paragraph relating to the possibility of abolishing compulsory military service and to substitute for it the following: "The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Body of Delegates."

This amendment was adopted.

Abolition of Conscription in Germany

An examination of the movement to require the abolition of compulsory military service in Germany and Austria, the opposition to that movement, and the final treaty abolition will prove profitable. Germany, long after the war, continued to insist that her disarmament and abolition of conscription were to be only first steps eventually to be followed by like action of all other countries. Lloyd George "advocated the abolition of conscription as one of the conditions of real peace. Let them begin with Germany. If that were done, there would be no excuse for maintaining the system in enemy countries for defense against a shadow." But his proposal to abolish German conscription, strange as it may seem, met with opposition of the French and Italian military men—Foch, Desgoutte, Weygand, Cavallero—but was approved by Clemenceau. Foch was the most vociferous and his opposition seems to have been based upon the fact that if Germany had no large army then France would have no excuse for a conscript army and he could not look with equanimity on the destruction of the French military machine to the building of which he had given his life.

One of the better summaries of Lloyd George's action is that of Arnold Toynbee:

> He insisted upon writing into it [the treaty] that universal compulsory military service should be abolished in Germany; that both the army and the navy should from then on be recruited entirely from volunteers; that recruits should have to stay in the service, after joining, for at least twelve years on end in the case of non-commissioned officers and privates in the army and petty officers and men in the navy, and for at least twenty-five years on end in the case of officers in the army and officers and warrant officers in the navy. Officers in both services must serve up to the age of forty-five at least. Not more than five per cent of the actually serving offiers and men—'effectives' as they are called—in either service must be discharged in any given year; and officers and men who had done their term of service must take no further part in exercises or manoeuvres and must receive no further training.
>
> The French military authorities objected, but Mr. Lloyd George insisted, so all this was included in the Peace Treaty. . . .

Efforts Between Wars

During the period between the two wars very little attention was given to the international abolition of conscription. Chief discussion at the disarmament conferences was focused on qualitative limitation of armament. Germany continued to reiterate:

> The disarmament of the country which I have the honor to represent is complete. . . . according to the Treaty of Versailles, this disarmament should only be the prelude to general disarmament. . . .

Russia insisted on disarmament and at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference of the League in 1927 presented the most far-reaching plan, not merely for the abolition of conscription but for:

(a) The dissolution of all land, sea, and air forces and the non-admittance of their existence in any concealed form whatsoever.

(b) The discontinuance of calling upon citizens for military training either in armies or public bodies.

At the fifth session Russia again advocated (Article 9) that:

> Within a period of one year from the entry into force of the present Convention, all laws concerning military service, whether compulsory, voluntary, or by recruiting, shall be abrogated.

Only Turkey and Germany supported the Russian plan; the opposition was led by Italy, France, Japan, and Great Britain, all of whom questioned Russian motives, argued that the League Covenant prevented total disarmament, and called the plan visionary.

At the second sitting of the Sixth Session of the Preparatory Commission von Bernstorff, the German delegate, proposed the limitation of trained reserves, limitation of the size of the annual contingent, and of the term of service of conscript armies.

In February 1932, the German delegate, von Nadolny urged "the general abolition of compulsory service, and, failing this, the inclusion of trained reserves in the general limitation."

All the proposals of Germany and Russia were rejected and the French plan for qualitative reduction of material, the maintenance of the conscript system, and the publication of armaments information was accepted, modified by the United Kingdom's definition of aggression and method of achieving security. During the latter part of 1932 and early 1933 the disarmament conference bogged down, and all official attempts to abolish conscription or achieve disarmament ceased.

Several private attempts during the 1920's and 30's were made to secure the universal abolition of conscription. Perhaps the most famous was that in 1926 by outstanding citizens of fourteen countries. The original signators were men like Norman Angell and H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein and von Deimling, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. Their manifesto read in part:

> We call for some definite step toward complete disarmament and the demilitarizing of the mind of civilized nations. The most effective measure toward this would be the universal abolition of conscription. We therefore ask the League of Nations to propose the abolition of compulsory military service in all countries as a first step toward true disarmament.
>
> It is our belief that conscript armies, with their large corps of professional officers, are a grave menace to peace. Conscription involves the degradation of human personality and the destruction of liberty. . . . The state which thinks itself entitled to force its citizens to go to war will never pay proper regard to the value and happiness of their lives in peace.

Although many signatures were obtained, no international treaty was formulated or adopted, and little official attention was given to the declaration.

Present Opportunity

Today the Atlantic Charter proposal to abandon the use of force, the Dumbarton Oaks Charter authorizing further action toward disarmament, and the plan to again deprive Germany and her allies of conscript armies, all suggest that the United Nations should propose and actively advocate an international treaty abolishing conscription. The words of General Smuts are as true now as when he spoke them:

> I look upon conscription as the taproot of militarism; unless that is cut, all our labors will eventually be in vain. . . .
>
> Of the three proposals for disarmament, the abolition of conscription is by far the most important, and it is also the one behind which there will be the greatest volume of public opinion.

Here is a proposed draft for an agreement that could be written into the charter of the world organization:

Each and every of the High Contracting Parties within six months after the due ratification hereof by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China and by one-half the other signatory parties, shall cease to raise effectives for its army, navy, air force, or other military or war service, or for any service or force for international action, or for the purpose of military or other training by conscription or other involuntary service and shall not thereafter employ conscription or involuntary service for any such military, war, or other service or training whatsoever.

Unbroken by the Storm

[*As the curtain of the war censorship is slowly lifted, letters from Fellowship members who kept the faith in Hitler's Europe are beginning to come through. That the writers are still alive and able to contribute to our testament of pacifism is an augury of hope and a challenge to the Fellowship in America. Although the letters were not intended for publication, we venture to print significant portions.* THE EDITORS]

Paris, February 7, 1945.

From Henri Roser

I do not know where to begin in order to renew the contact interrupted so long, and by such tragic events that they leave you breathless and morally tired. There is one thing though which I want to say right away, with joy and a great gratitude to God; it is that right through this occupation the thought of our unity, of our fellowship, and most of all of the FOR, has been for me and for many others, a true blessing, a preservative against the temptations of despair and hatred, a rest for the mind, and a calm retreat for the heart.

We have suffered, but we do not want to forget that everyone suffers all over the world. Besides, the physical sufferings—and they have been serious, and continue to be (for our situation has not been improved by the liberation from the point of view of food, heat, or light—as far as heat is concerned it is worse) these physical sufferings are nothing compared with the moral difficulties and sufferings.

I am trying in vain to find adequate words to convey to you the deadly sorrow that filled us as we read bilingual posters, red and printed in black, where the "Oberbefehlshaber in Frankreich," announced that for one German soldier killed (whose murderer was never found, which led people to think that the culprit must have been another German) twenty, fifty "hostages," all surely innocent since they had been in prisons weeks and months before, would be or had been shot. Maybe the anguish made of shame, anger, and despair that you must have felt at the time of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, may help you somewhat to understand. But you see, with us, it happened all the time.

And it was that frightful slavery which, in addition, was sanctioned by a "French" authority, which took away the men from homes already disrupted by hunger, cold, hyper-nervous tension, leaving behind the old people, the women, the children. It was also these discreet abductions of this or that one of your neighborhood by the Gestapo. It was the sudden visits of the *miliciens* at 7 a. m. (I was taken to the *milice* headquarters in just such a way on Holy Saturday, 1944.) It was the anguish of the families of those who were deported, of the Jews, a sorrow that never ended. I am thinking of those convoys of buses which brought from the well-known camp of Drancy (not far away from us) some heartbreaking tumbrelfulls of people—Jewish men, women, and children, with poor, scanty clothing, the little baggage they could carry in a suitcase or in a blanket—taken to the little station of Bobigny, locked in cattle cars for three days, and taken to the place in Poland, where according to all likelihood they would be executed. I saw this with my own eyes, when the thermometer (centigrade) marked 3 or 4 below zero, for instance in January, 1944. How could one ever forget that?

And worst of all, how could one forget the feeling of having been deprived of one's own individuality, this impression of being dehumanized, to have been expelled from one's human dignity, not to mention the dignity of being a child of God, by the fact of an enforced silence, or of useless protestations (in preaching for instance). One lived as in a constant dizziness. One had the feeling of dropping in the void. Ah! I may assure you one had to hang on with all one's strength not to despair of everything, of the future as of the present, of God, as of man. And yet we had not any member of our family deported or shot (except a cousin of whom we have no news.)

Well, now we are like convalescents, sensitive, quite tired, and yet anxious to take advantage of the partial return of freedom (we are still at war) in order to resume the path of activities which make life worth living. But the children of our countries have known problems so heavy, and felt such violent feelings, that they will need to be surrounded with understanding sympathy for a long time to come, especially at the time when they will reach public life with their moral and mental reflexes determined by the hypertension of these years of the occupation.

You probably know that the meetings of the Fellowship went on regularly in Paris every month from 1940 until now. We exchanged news, judgments on events, shared the reactions of the mind and the heart. We also studied together the theses on the reconstruction of the world after the war which had reached us secretly from the ecumenical movements in Geneva. We collected funds for this or that victim of air bombings. We prayed too. We were always about 30, sometimes 40. None of us have ever been "collaborators"; and Vichy, from the first had as bad a reputation among us as the Hitler regime! Twice I was able to send to each one of our former subscribers to the *Cahiers*, in the north zone, and to a few in the south, mimeographed messages, fairly important, in order to clarify our position.

It is easier today, now that the occupying people have left, to think about the matters of peace, and from many sides, questions are asked me related to our deepest convictions.

I never succeeded in getting letters from Scandinavia, although I wrote several times. From Czechoslovakia Premysl [Pitter] and Olga [Fierz] wrote to me several times; Elsa Tutsch's brothers were deported to Poland or Ukraine; a friend has been interned a rather long time as a Jew; but Pitter and his children's home have been spared.

From Germany I had news of X—, the unfortunate one, who had finally adhered to the Nazi party; of Emile Fuchs, who was put in jail several times, and whose son-in-law could not stand it any more and committed suicide. News from Eva [Hermann] and Carl, condemned to years of "Zuchthaus" for having helped Jews and listened to the Russian radio; news of Wilhelm Mensching, whose son Ernst, so deeply anti-Nazi, was killed on the Russian front, and whose eldest son Fritz, was cruelly wounded on the same front where he went as a doctor in 1941 (the last news was better).

You probably have heard that Kaspar Mayer [former FOR secretary in Vienna] and Erica lost their eldest boy, killed in White Russia, he who from the age of 11 had dedicated his life to preaching his faith as a missionary in Russia!

You probably know also that Kirsten [Svelmoe] of Denmark is dead, as is our good friend Spenkelinck [died in the spring of 1941]. Buskes was in jail at least once for three months. Hugenholtz wrote to me at the end of 1941, I think, that of course his activities were at a stop but that he was all right. [The last three lived in Holland.]

Philippe Vernier is still in Belgium in his parish. Jacques Martin, arrested by the *milice*, was about to be shot in August, 1944, but was saved with less than two hours to spare. [Andre] Trocme and [Edouard] Theis had to hide away for months after being put to jail for a month by Vichy. One of our good members, a salutist, who became Leader of the Resistance in Marseilles, Georges Flandre, was assassinated by the Germans when they retreated. Andre and Magda Trocme lost their son Jean-Pierre by accident last summer.

Claire [Henri Roser's wife] and the children—Francois 18 years old is getting ready to pass the second part of his baccalaureate, Anne-Marie 16, Monique 13, and Eveline 7, are going to school—on the whole are well, although we certainly are all rather tired.

Please do tell the friends, whenever you find the opportunity, how precious it is for me to think of them, to remember their faces, and to depend on their faithful intercession.

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Cablegram in response to second gift of $500 sent by War Victims Fund of American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Paris, May 7, 1945—Second Gift Received Many Thanks For Brotherly Help and Communion.—Henri Roser.

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Quaregnon, Belgium, Feb. 3, 1945

From Philippe Vernier

Your Christmas card has just reached us this morning and we are very glad to be able to give you some news. We are all right here. I was able to come back in November, 1940, and carry on my work here (with 3 parishes!) all during the war, by God's grace. Our two daughters are very well and we enjoy very much having a son who was born last December 30—Jean-Daniel by name. I have seen several times Henri Roser and his family. Of course it's hard living in Paris for them, but Henri as well as we do never cease thanking God for His handling of our lives these 5 years. Always believing in the faith which we have talked over together, we are very happy in the service of the Master.

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Zurich, Switzerland, March 12, 1945

From F. Siegmund-Schultze

The work of the Fellowship at Zurich is growing. We now have besides the International Centre which I have at my house a small Swiss office near the station (Rennweg 30) with a secretary of the Eastern Swiss group, Rita Bachler, who has hitherto been in Vienna in refugees' work. I am sending you under separate cover the minutes of the meeting of the East Switzerland Group of January 6 and a little pamphlet of our Swiss Fellowship, published lately. The local groups of the Fellowship become more living in spite of the difficulties which come from the police.

I do not give you details about the losses [in Germany] which have been announced to me, because every day is bringing news of this kind. You will not see again many German boys or men between 18 and 50 years about whom you have known. And more than that: one will not find in Germany such a thing as a people or a nation, after they have given their last force against the assumed efforts of annihilation, which they believe because of the methods of bombarding the civilian population; only apathy will follow and nihilism in a full sense of the word. The problem of middle Europe will be greater than that of Greece or Italy.

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IFOR Newsletter, March, 1945

From Siegmund-Schultze

The last news about Wilhelm [Mensching] at his remote place was good. Eva [Hermann] is still in the same situation, [i.e. imprisonment] at another place. . . . Many co-operators of the *Una Sancta* and of other movements antagonistic to the Nazi tyranny have been executed during 1944. I know that from March, 1943, to January, 1944, more than 25,000 members of the Inner Front were executed at the three places, Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart.

Apparently you have not got a former letter containing the report about Dr. Metzger's martyrdom. [Roman Catholic priest from Austria and a former Council member of IFOR]. Since the beginning of the war he had worked more actively than ever for the co-operation of Catholics and Protestants. He was the *spiritus rector* of the so-called *Una Sancta* movement, which made much progress in Germany. One of those awful Gestapo spies . . . found the way into his confidence and group, and effected his imprisonment. After some months he was condemned, and after some weeks executed. We had no last messages from him as all intercourse with him was prevented; but we know from his persecutors that he died in the faith in the reconciling Christ and in fellowship with all his followers.

Power Politics Threatens Peace But There Is a Way Out

The May issue of *Common Sense* reports an important item which, so far as I know, was elsewhere suppressed, an all too common occurrence these days even in countries where there is supposed to be a free press. Mohandas K. Gandhi wired to Mrs. Roosevelt "Condolences on the death of your husband. Congratulations that this man of peace did not live to see the murder of peace." There may be some question in what sense Franklin D. Roosevelt was a man of peace, though I personally do not doubt that he sincerely wished to be. There can, I think, be little doubt that what is taking place at San Francisco, especially when regarded in the setting of international developments elsewhere, is part of a process which is leading to "the murder of peace."

As these notes are being written the San Francisco Conference is still in the midst of its labors though Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden, and several lesser stars have left. It is, moreover, obviously impossible to present anything but the sketchiest evaluation of the Conference and related developments in a few hundred words. Nevertheless, it seems to me terribly important that we should discern the essence of what is happening before our eyes—not just what seems to be, or is said to be, happening. In stating my own evaluation of the Conference, I regret that it must because of brevity be couched in what may sound like dogmatic language.

Our contention in recent months has been that Dumbarton Oaks attempted to build peace on a military alliance of victor powers and that the Charter for the proposed international security organization was calculated to perpetuate this military alliance and the domination of the world by it. The advocates of the adoption of the Dumbarton Oaks plan frankly agree with the first proposition: but it is, they say, the only terms on which peace can be had just now. The more idealistic among them have contended, however, that we could go on from this to something better and have been much concerned about amendments which might limit or eventually modify big power control of the post-war system.

Thus, many deemed it essential that the veto power over consideration of disputes and over the use of sanctions, vested by the Yalta agreement in each of the Big Five, should be modified. "The Big Three," said the Statement by Fifty-One Religious Leaders printed in the May issue of *Fellowship,* "are going to require all the other nations to take the risk of participation in an organization which does not guarantee veto power to these others. Unless the big powers take the same risk, they will not have built a workable structure."

That is so patent that there has been a large amount of discussion at San Francisco around this question. Very likely some formula will be adopted which will soften the outward aspect of the Yalta plan. But *The New York Times* has just summed up the situation in a lead editorial which frankly says: "The four sponsoring Powers have agreed to submit jointly a number of amendments to the proposals which they brought with them originally to San Francisco, but none of the amendments changes fundamentally the plan evolved last autumn at Dumbarton Oaks.... The 'veto power' of the five Great Powers still remains unchanged."

The same sort of thing is happening with respect to amendment of the Charter. A proposal is under consideration whereby, after some years, a convention to draft a new charter might be called by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly, but the Big Five would retain a veto right over everything that might be done by this constitutional convention!

We have contended that history provides solemn and conclusive warning that a military alliance of victor powers is a wholly unreliable basis for peace. The most extreme pessimists would hardly have predicted that the victor powers in the present case would fall out with each other so soon, so openly, and so seriously as they have. The attempt to get Russia to carry out the pledge to co-operate in broadening and democratizing—according to the Yalta agreement— the *de facto* Lublin government of Poland has collapsed. Eden and Stettinius in sharp and repeated statements have informed Moscow that they will not even discuss the matter further until Moscow accounts for the fifteen or sixteen leaders of the Polish Underground and of democratic Polish parties who went to Russia weeks ago in the expectation that some of them would be taken into the reorganized government and as to whose whereabouts Moscow refuses to give any explanation!

To cite another instance, Trieste and northeastern Italy is an Anglo-American theater of operations, and Anglo-American troops forced the surrender of the German garrison in Trieste. Marshal Tito, a Moscow puppet, agreed in February to the establishment of Allied military control in the region. But his troops recently entered Trieste and the Allied Military Government there, according to *The New York Times,* "has been unable to start functioning for the simple reason that the Yugoslavs already have taken over the functions of the Military Government." Acting Secretary of State Grew has protested against this "sudden unilateral action taken in the flush of victory" both on general grounds and on the specific ground that it violates the Yalta agreement.

Who is at fault for this "murder of the peace" when the ink on the German surrender documents is hardly dry? Events and the discussions about them at San Francisco make it clear that each and every one of the Big Three is responsible. Each is pursuing a nationalist, isolationist policy, mapping out spheres of influence, seeking to build up its own power and "security" according to the familiar power politics pattern. Thus Russia maneuvers to place its treaties with France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., outside the effective jurisdiction of the international organization. The United States delegation is engaged in doing the same thing with respect to the Chapultepec agreement in the American sphere. Again, Russia can pose as the protagonist of colonial and dependent peoples and the United States and Great Britain are depriving themselves of the moral ground for opposing "unilateral action" by Russia in many parts of Europe and Asia because the U. S. is determined to secure control over bases in the Pacific and Britain is determined to hang on to empire. Accordingly, no genuine "trusteeship" plan is being framed.

What to do? Keep pressing for genuine amendments to Dumbarton Oaks as long as the San Francisco Conference is in session.

And something much more basic is required. Kenneth G. Crawford, associate editor of *Newsweek,* the first American correspondent to land on the Normandy beachhead last June, and just back from Europe writes: "War with Russia is unthinkable, yet it is being thought about constantly. It is, in fact, America's preoccupying fear." This mental state is suicidal. If persisted in it would lead straight to war. Nor must we say at a moment such as the present that we have peace and an international organization when we do not. As *The New Yorker* recently observed, it is all right to compromise with the Russians but it is not all right to compromise with truth.

If Russia is cynically playing the game of power politics, the one way to meet it is for the United States and Great Britain to stop playing it themselves. Let us lead the colonial and dependent peoples to freedom. Let us take the proposals for all-round disarmament and the abolition of conscription which Litvinov made years ago to the League of Nations and confess to Moscow that it was a mistake of the western powers to scorn them. Let us offer to join Russia now in putting those proposals into effect. Thus "San Francisco"—and the peoples of the earth—could be saved.

A. J. MUSTE

British Group Asks Constructive Peace and Warns Against Failure

The British National Peace Council recently published a "National Petition for a Constructive Peace" and secured more than 90,000 signatures on it. The petition reads:

"We, the undersigned, believing that a world free from insecurity, injustice, and war must be built not on conceptions of exclusive guilt, racial inferiority, or preponderant power, but on the principle of the interdependence of all peoples and their common responsibility for the making of a peaceful order, and that a true security against war and aggression can be provided only by a positive policy which removes the causes of conflict;

"and believing further that such a policy calls for a radical reconstruction —spiritual, economic, and political— which is rooted in responsible personal freedom, which subordinates sectional interests to the common well-being, and is directed to:

"(a) the bringing of adequate relief to distressed peoples everywhere according to their need and the acceptance by those more favorably placed of the restrictions upon their own standards of living necessary for this purpose;

"(b) the abolition of poverty and unemployment and the raising of standards, both economic and cultural, through the maximum use and equitable sharing of all available resources;

"(c) the achievement of political and economic freedom for India and for all dependent peoples;

"(d) the development within a wider co-operation of a closer unity between, and common services for, the peoples of Europe, as of other related areas;

"(e) the international control of armaments to ensure their progressive reduction in all countries in conjunction with the transfer of world resources to productive uses;

"(f) the promotion of education in the responsibilities of world citizenship; and

"(g) the setting-up of the international organizations necessary to the fulfilment of these tasks and the limiting of national sovereignties in order to render their work effective,

"pray His Majesty's Government

"to formulate such a program of constructive peace-making, to put it into action at home as fully and as speedily as possible, and to commend it vigorously in the international field as the necessary basis for an enduring peace."

Among the signers of the petition are numerous prominent British liberals, including: Sir Richard Acland, M. P.; Dr. E. W. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham; H. N. Brailsford; G. D. H. Cole; Dr. G. P. Gooch; Laurence Housman; Dr. L. P. Jacks; Prof. Harold J. Laski; Prof. John MacMurray; and Dr. Maude Royden.

The National Peace Council of Great Britain also presented a statement to British delegates to the San Francisco Conference before they left London. The statement advocated: (1) encouragement of groups and forces inside Germany, Japan, and Italy capable of assuming worthy leadership; (2) abrogation by the Great Powers of the privilege of directing the activities of the world federation system from above, and renouncing of some of their national powers by the Big Five, as they are asking the smaller nations to do, thus sharing the responsibilities and difficulties of the smaller member nations; (3) recognition of the achievements of the International Labor Organization, as one avenue through which peoples of different nations may not remain peacefully apart but work actively together.

After quoting the Atlantic Charter's solemn warning that all nations "must come to the abandonment of the use of force," the statement concluded that: "it may well be considered that the moment for that fundamental decision is already at hand. Either the peoples go down together to a complete and common destruction, or they get together, sharing their resources and their energies, utilizing the processes of a constructive co-operation to build one world as the content and condition of peace."

Sequel to Salvador Non-violent Revolt

In May, 1944, the little Central American country of El Salvador staged a revolutionary strike by non-violent means and won a great popular victory. Readers of *Fellowship* may remember my article on that subject in the issue of last September.

For five months, the press and people enjoyed freedom and were apparently on the road to democratic politics. But, aided by neighboring dictatorships, a reactionary clique pushed out the new government headed by provisional President Menendez and set up a new dictatorship under Colonel Osmin Aguirre y Salinas.

The democratic elements then took posts in exile, declaring themselves, from Mexico and Guatemala, the true government. The dictatorship made an anti-revolutionary defensive alliance with President Carias of Honduras. Yet in Mexico the exiled "government" of Dr. Miguel Tomas Molina, a popular democrat, occupied the Salvador embassy without bloodshed, driving out the dictator's henchmen. Forced by non-violent pressure to give ground, Dictator Aguirre moved to hold an "election" which put in a hand-picked president, Castaneda Castro.

Some relaxation of the dictatorship resulted. There was ground for hope that, unsatisfactory as the origins of the new regime had been, liberation was in the offing. At this promising stage, however, it became necessary for Washington to isolate Argentina at the Chapultepec Conference, and as a consequence El Salvador was recognized.

Nevertheless, in the curious complexity of Latin American politics, all sorts of internal and external pressures have been exerted on the existing government of El Salvador, and much of this has been self-consciously non-violent. As a result of these factors, the Mexican correspondent of Worldover Press has reported that Señor C. Herrera Frimont, Charge d'Affaires of the Mexican Republic in El Salvador, declared on his return to the Mexican capital recently that "The resumption of relations between Mexico and El Salvador has re-inaugurated a period of frank cordiality between both peoples and governments. The new political situation that exists in El Salvador has returned the country to absolute normality. The political refugees have gone back to their country, and no disturbing factors exist to darken the future of this Central American nation."

This may be undue optimism, for labor and democratic elements, according to statements given out by their representatives in Costa Rica, are determined to restore complete popular control, in order to place in the leadership of El Salvador the Party of Democratic Union, under the leadership of the brilliant young physician, Dr. Arturo Romero. In addition to all of the well-known tactics of non-violence, such as strikes, civil disobedience, and boycotts, some of the spokesmen of the unions in El Salvador, who apparently are affiliated with communist groups, are emphasizing violent as well as non-violent methods. Future eventualities depend very largely upon the desires of the people themselves, and it must be remembered that the most important factor in the non-military revolution of early summer, 1944, was the unanimous decision of the people to employ non-violent means, together with the remarkable degree of popular solidarity maintained.

At any rate, there are still important elements in El Salvador who place non-violent methods at the top of the list, and they do not believe that they will be able to achieve peace and democracy for their country until a more representative form of government is achieved. In a country governed by dictators for many years, it is certainly encouraging to note the high degree of democratic vigor existing among the people.

DEVERE ALLEN.

Conscription Forces Gain Momentum

Hearings on post-war military training are being held by the House Committee on Post-war Military Policy this month, June 4-16. Hearings originally had been scheduled last winter, but were postponed because of a flood of opposition to consideration of the matter during the war.

In recent months, however, the War Department, the American Legion, and the so-called "citizens committees" sponsored largely by Army officers and big business interests, have been conducting a nationwide campaign to "educate" the public to their point of view. As a result, the mail of Congressmen is now predominantly in favor of peacetime conscription.

One of the methods being used by the War Department is to call to Washington the heads of various civilian organizations and give them off-the-record lectures on the importance of universal military training, which they say is not "conscription" because the men are to be inducted into training organizations only and are not subject to actual Army service except in case of emergency.

The War Department is also using Army officers as propagandists for peacetime conscription. Public protests against this led Secretary Stimson recently to forbid Army officers to engage in such activity, but his order was withdrawn soon afterwards. General Weible's whole staff in the War Department are now devoting most of their time to promoting peacetime military training, although officers are never granted permission to speak against it.

The War Department insists that the compulsory training program is necessary in order to enable the US to carry out its obligations in the new international security organization and to assure world peace, and also to avoid the expense of launching a last-minute defense program after a crisis has developed.

Another reason often given, though "unofficially," for needing permanent conscription is the possibility of war with Russia almost any time in order to keep her from dominating Europe and perhaps Asia!

With such pressures being exerted, *the chances of defeating permanent conscription legislation are now less favorable than at any time in recent months.* Increasing efforts will have to be made to inform the public on the real issues involved. Committees in every community will have to enlarge and intensify their activities, and not ease up during the summer months.

Aid for India

India is the forgotten nation today. The famine that ravaged the province of Bengal and took a million lives is now over, but its effects are still taking their toll. Millions are still undernourished and thousands are the victims of disease. Numerous families lost their breadwinners and are now without means of support. The demands of Allied troops for food and supplies have inflated prices to the point where the average worker's few pennies will not buy enough to feed his family decently. Transportation is monopolized by military forces so that food cannot be shipped to areas where crops fail.

In spite of the fact that India's plight is largely the result of the war, America's National War Fund refused to grant her any aid this year, on the ground that it must confine its gifts to liberated areas. For that reason the American Friends Service Committee, with the co-operation and full approval of British and Indian leaders, has organized American Relief for India, Inc., a citizens committee for the purpose of assuring continuation of American aid largely in the form of milk, vitamins, sulpha tablets, atabrine, and other basic medicines that only the United States can supply.

Approximately $100,000 a month is needed to enable the Quakers to maintain this work, and contributions are now being solicited with the approval of the President's War Relief Control Board. Send gifts to the committee at 41 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.

Jottings

A prompt offer of clear peace terms to Japan was recently urged by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, assembled in annual convention at Haverford, Pa. The League "believed that a more definite statement of peace terms to Germany would have shortened the European war and made possible a more constructive solution to the problems of the peace." Proposed offers to Japan, said the League, should be in harmony with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter.

* * *

A summer training course will be held in New Hampshire August 3-11 by the staff of the Harlem Ashram, of which Jay Holmes Smith is leader.

Mr. Smith, former professor of philosophy and religion in India, and active during the last several years in this country on behalf of Indian and Puerto Rican nationalists, will emphasize the revolutionary spirit and methods of Jesus and Gandhi. Registration will be from $15 to $30 per week, with a limited number of part-pay scholarships available. For further information write to The Harlem Ashram, 2013 Fifth Avenue, New York 35, N. Y.

* * *

A soldier recently wrote from Germany, sending $5 for the maintenance of CO's, and writing, "I, too, would have been an objector if I were brave enough to stand up to the jeers of the people I would meet all the days of my life. Instead I chose the easy way; face the enemy for a few months and it would be all over. I truly wish I had the faith that those men have." The gift and letter were sent to the Episcopal Church headquarters.

* * *

The Demobilization and Employment Committee of the new United Pacifist Committee of New York is planning to act as a clearing house for giving counsel and assistance to demobilized CO's. Josiah Marvel of the Quaker Emergency Relief is the chairman, 345 Lexington Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Many of the 2,000 Japanese-American college students now enrolled in colleges in the United States will be unable to complete their schooling without financial aid, according to the National Japanese-American Student Relocation Council, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa., which was organized when it became apparent that the heavy financial losses suffered by all groups of Japanese-Americans in the country would especially handicap the student group.

Many of the 2,000 students are earning most of their expenses and some have won scholarships from their colleges, but in all but the rarest cases some additional help is needed. The Relocation Council is soliciting funds for supplying this extra help. Send for their booklet, "From Camp to College."

* * *

Peacetime compulsory military training is strongly supported by *New Masses,* a magazine closely linked with the Communist party.

According to *New Masses,* "our allies would consider adoption of this measure as a pledge of lasting and effective co-operation. . . . Arms are a force for peace in the hands of an America bent upon maintaining peace. . . . If we are to help shape a peace that lasts, we cannot shirk our responsibilities, political, economic, military, even if it means abandoning some of our pre-war habits and prejudices."

* * *

Nevin Sayre, Co-Secretary of the FOR in the United States and chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, minister of Broadway Tabernacle in New York and member of the FOR executive committee, will make a trip to Puerto Rico in the early summer to visit CPS groups and contact leaders in various phases of Puerto Rican life. Dr. Sayre will leave New York June 23, and will travel to Puerto Rico by way of Mexico and Cuba, getting back at the end of July.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

A Religion for Living

The Seamless Robe, The Religion of Loving Kindness. By Sarah Cleghorn. The Macmillan Company, 171 pp. $2.00.

This is a sanctified little book, a book for the bedside table. In brief chapters, the author outlines and implements her "religion of loving kindness" with a disarming simplicity; nowhere more disarming than in the poem-prayer with which she prefaces her thesis. Miss Cleghorn is by choice, or by conviction, teacher, humanitarian, vegetarian, pacifist, each and all in their more endearing aspects; by nature she is poet, and although this volume contains only a minimum of her verse, she illumines her point of view and baffles controversy more by that minimum even than by her charming irenic prose.

Good will is the keynote of this poet's religion, and *loving kindness* its touchstone. She bids us substitute this "old Bible word" for the word God "in well-known or much loved religious sayings." Try it! And see how some of the passages "come startlingly alive." Chapters follow on loving kindness toward children, old folk, the human community, the animal kingdom. In "War is the Enemy" are three noble prayers which may be used by anyone, pacifist or other. This loving kindness is the seamless robe whose threads are woven of the lives of men of good will. It is a garment of Brotherhood. "Can the threads from the east be at enmity with those from the west? Can the east and west threads ally themselves together against those from the north and south?" "What but this tapestry of mutual strength and grace is the seamless robe chosen by Loving Kindness for its mortal garment?"

But figures of speech may be pressed too far. What of that dark hour when Jesus, stripped of his seamless robe, hung on the cross? Our author touches upon this as a moment of human history; she does not follow through the episode. But there is comfort in remembering the words of loving kindness spoken, out of uncloaked agony, to Mary and John, to the penitent thief; and in the prayer for the ignorant multitude, "Father, forgive them . . ."

There are other problems she does not touch. Does it puzzle the vegetarian that the Risen Lord is said to have cooked fish and called to his disciples to come and eat? But Miss Cleghorn is not a theologian; she is not trying, here, to solve the mystery in which we move: the sacramental mystery by which we live; the paradox through which creative love seems to demand creative suffering; the mystery of the cross. Let us not make the mistake of thinking that she is unaware of these mysteries, if here she elects not to probe beyond the penumbra of their shadows, the halo of their light. No; in this book, in the chapter on "Evil and Loving Kindness," and in her own life's pattern, she gives us her own carefully, considered and chosen plan for overcoming evil:

"True, it is but a piecemeal solution for evil, thus to oppose it with continually being good to one another, as far as we can reach. But it joyously, and confidently succeeds."

"How far can loving kindness go in transforming evil into good? Loving kindness only knows."

FLORENCE CONVERSE.

Prose and Poetry

Basic Verities, by Charles Peguy, tr. by Ann and Julian Green. Pantheon Books. 282 pages. $2.75.

Men and Saints, by Charles Peguy, tr. by Ann and Julian Green. 303 pages. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

Charles Peguy was a Frenchman who died in the early days of World War I, in 1914. In his early youth he became a Socialist and renounced the Roman Catholic Church into which he had been born. Before long he believed the Socialist party had lost its "mysticism" and become too much like other political parties. He began to devote his life to restoring its spiritual vitality. After a while he regained his religious faith. But then a fearful dilemma confronted him. Fellowship—the unity of all men with each other and in God—was really his central and passionate conviction. He really believed all the teachings of the Church, so he believed that outside the Church there was no salvation. But this meant eternal damnation for his wife, who was not a Catholic, and for millions of other human beings. Therefore, he could not bring himself to rejoin the Church: if they were to be damned, he would be damned with them. "We are one with the eternally damned. We cannot admit that there are human beings who must be thrust away from the entrance to any community."

Both books listed above consist of selections about half prose, half poetry, from his writings. The French original appears on one side of the page, the sensitive and beautiful translation on the other. The flavor of his prose and the incisive, probing character of his thought may be gathered from this quotation from an essay of Jaurés, the French Socialist leader assassinated at the beginning of World War I: "He always explained everything. He knew admirably how to explain by discursive, eloquent, conclusive reasons. That is what ruined him. A man who is so gifted for the explanation of everything is ripe for all surrenders. A surrender is essentially an operation by which one settles down to explain instead of to act. And cowards are people crammed with explanations."

But it is Peguy's poetry with which I hope many readers of FELLOWSHIP will become acquainted. Those who do will love it and find in it bread and wine for the spirit. It ranks unquestionably with the greatest and profoundest religious poetry of all time. It is simple and direct, in no sense obscure or difficult, and is suffused with a delightful humor. Incidentally, it is God the Father who speaks in all his poems, as in these lines from one entitled "Sleep":

I don't like a man who doesn't sleep,
    says God.
Sleep is perhaps the most beautiful
    thing I have created.
But they tell me that there are men
Who work well and sleep badly.
Who don't sleep. What a lack of confidence in me.
Laziness is not a greater sin than
    unrest,
It is not even so great a sin as unrest
And despair and lack of confidence
    in me.

A. J. M.

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